553 neighborhood children are then invited to eat a dish consisting of a gruel of sorghum and beans. But before eating they wait for the child to relieve himself, hence the name of this meal, ubunyano (from kunya, to defecate). Then the father recites a few names he would like to give the child, and those present choose one of them. If the parents have already lost a child, in order to turn away the evil spirits, the newborn child is baptized with an objectionable name such as Kangurube (little pig child). The same day the husband is obliged to have intercourse with his wife lest a misfortune happen to the child.

[845] Twins (impanga) are given names that resemble each other, Karengera and Karinganire for example. [36]

851 848 [611] The rule pater is est quem nuptiae demonstrant is universally applied. Normally, therefore, the husband is the child's father and filiation is established in the paternal line. Children born after the father's death are considered legitimate if the wife was pregnant at the time of his death.

There is no special word to designate the legitimate child.

However, the rule mentioned above has certain exceptions. If a man marries an ikinyandaro, the child to be born, who is only an umusambanano for the husband, will belong to his natural father. But the husband may claim that the child is his if at the time of the marriage the girl is only a few months pregnant.

It may happen that a girl does not know the name of the man who has taken her (1). The natural child then belongs to the inzu of

1. This is especially the case with abajakazi (mistress-servants), who live at the Mwami's Court or with the great chiefs and who are put at the disposal of their master's guests.

the girl's father. Today there are many ibyomanzi who, eager for their independence, have left their parents and wander throughout the country. Their children are called abana b'umugore, but they do not belong to the maternal inzu, for the ibyomanzi no longer have any family.

The adulterine child belongs to the husband because of the dowry that has been paid. If the dowry has not been paid, the child is supposed to belong to the family of his mother's father. The incestuous child belongs to the husband. When a child is born to an unmarried

girl, the girl's father takes over the child.

In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father. Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has charge of the children. [38]

CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p. 60.

When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

428 over his brothers. As an act of vassalage, the latter must in turn /each/
593 give him a beer, a hoe, and a sheep. /50/ They acknowledge his superiority thereby, and place themselves under his dependence. In return he must show interest in them and in their legal proceedings, take care of their affairs in the event of illness, defend them against one and all.

[429] Daughters have no right whatever to inherit from their father. Before he dies, on the other hand, the father appoints one of his sons to look after each one of them to take care of her future, her marriage, and to watch over her until she marries.

851 A daughter whose bride price was paid for in cows receives
431 a heifer from her father or brother when she comes to show them her first born. Among wealthy families, she is given a cow at the birth
[556] of each male child. Among poorer families, the gift consists of a young bull, a goat, or one or two hoes, depending on the amount of the bride price (1).

1. A cow given under these circumstances is called "young mother's cow" (ichari, umwari). The young bull obtained under the same circumstances is called "woman's garment" (inkanda), because the animal's hide must theoretically be used to clothe the happy mother.

According to the Banyarwanda custom governing the occasion, the child's father must give three jugs of beer and a basketful of cooked food to his father-in-law or to the brother-in-law who is his wife's guardian.

428 Upon their father's death, daughters merely receive garments made of cowhide, hoes, or sheep, which on account of the bereavement are called by the name of "salary or reward for tears."

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or
429 gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
[582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

● 851 Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his
551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them.... of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

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We shall now list some examples of those names:

Ntare . . . . . = "lion"
Se-ntama . . . . . = "sheep man"
Se-buhene . . . . . = "goat man"
Se-nkôkô . . . . . = "chicken man"
Se-mbga . . . . . = "dog man"
Njangwe . . . . . = "cat"
Se-biti . . . . . = "tree man"
Bissussa . . . . . = "(edible) nettles"
Nyira-massaka . . . = "sorghum girl"
Se-bishimbo . . . . = "bean man"
Se-masuka . . . . . = "hoe man"
Hakiz'umwami . . . = "it is the king who reprieves (or favors)"
Nyiragitondo . . . . = "morning woman" (one born in the morning).
Se-batware . . . . . = "chiefs' man"
Se-mapfa . . . . . = "famine man"
Madjoro . . . . . = "night" (because born during the night).
Semahundo . . . . . = "sorghum-stalk man"
Lwango . . . . . = "the one who hates"
Luvuga-make . . . . = "the one who speaks little" (that is, the quiet one).
Se-bazungu . . . . . = "Europeans' man," that is to say, born upon the arrival of the Whites.
Ndegeya . . . . . = "man with a sixth finger," that is to say, born with this peculiarity of a sixth finger.

granted a fair amount of respect, and the child is treated well, but from our point of view his education is nil.

684 As happens among most Negro peoples, the law is very strict for extramarital crimes.

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she 586 first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable 587 existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

586 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

578 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in 587 the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the batware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

518 851 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 562 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 578 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

his bride-wealth, since his brother-in-law did not take her away, she went home when ill because she had no home. In any case, the Court adds, bride-wealth is not to be returned as a matter of course just because a woman dies. 586 691

In a third case a woman has died after bearing one child; the circumstances of death are not stated. The widower, reclaiming his bride-wealth, a cow, which by increase has become 8 head, in a village meeting, has been awarded 5 head and the woman's father 3. The widower has later taken one of his father-in-law's share to provide milk for the child, and now claims his right to retain it and receive the balance. The Court confirms the decision of the village meeting, on the grounds that although the widower has lost a wife, her father has lost a child.

(*d*) when a husband drives away his wife without due cause, or abandons her.

Instances: A man takes his cow, paid as bride-wealth, away, then drives his wife out of the house, and now reclaims the balance, 11 hoes. He is adjudged to have forfeited these.

A man reclaims 7 hoes, balance of bride-wealth of a cow and 7 hoes, from his brother-in-law, who has taken the woman when ill to a doctor and has not returned her. The husband is found to have seized the opportunity to take back his cow and to have abandoned his wife, and he is held to have no claim to his hoes.

A man claims 6 cows, the increase of one, paid as bride-wealth. It is established that after the woman had borne him 5 children, he emigrated, leaving her, and that she is still unmarried and willing to return to him. He admits in cross-examination that he wants the cattle, not his wife—and loses both.

Bride-wealth is also returnable when a woman, left a widow, declines to remain under the custody of her late husband's heirs, and goes to her relatives. But custody must be claimed at the time of the husband's death: in a case where this was not done, and the woman had gone away and remarried, the new marriage was allowed to stand, subject to the proviso that the child of the marriage would be a member of the family of the first husband when it grew up, if it desired. In one case, a man waives his claim to the bride-wealth in respect of the widow of his dead son, she having returned to her relatives. 587 768 851

On the termination of a marriage, the custody of children is always the right of the husband. If he dies, the right passes to his heirs: there 586 768 851

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

586 is, however, an exception recorded, where, on a man dying leaving
851 only female children, these were taken charge of by the village head-
768 man. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

[691] *Instances*: A man sues his wife's new husband, after divorce, for payment of bride-wealth or else for custody of a child of which he claims she was pregnant when she left him. A count of months establishes the paternity of the new husband.

The son of a man deceased sues the man to whom the widow has gone, she then having a four-months' old child, for the first offspring of the new union as well as the other child, on the grounds that she was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The Court finds that no woman has ever been heard of suckling a four months' child and pregnant of another, and therefore awards the eldest child only.

In a third case, it is necessary to establish paternity as between three possible fathers.

[862] An unweaned child will remain with its mother till weaned. If not claimed then, her relatives or new husband may claim recompense for the cost of bringing the child up: in one case a goat is to be paid, in another, half the milk of a cow, and 3 hoes.

768 As a corollary to the right to the custody of a child, the heir of a
428 man who has died has the right to the bride-wealth in respect of a girl-child, when the widow has returned to her relatives and the child has not been claimed before she reaches marriageable age, subject to a deduction for the cost of bringing her up.

[691] *Instances*: In the case just cited, the milk and three hoes represented a deduction from the total bride-wealth of a cow and five hoes.

In another case, the woman's relations resist such a claim on the ground that when she left the heir, her son, and went home, he claimed only her clothes but not the child. Their case fails.

In one case, a man lost his reason, and his wife went off to another man with her three children, of whom two were females. This other man married off one child and betrothed the other. Both contracts
[681] were dissolved, the man was fined and in addition was made to refund to their father 14 hoes which had been handed over for maintenance of the children.

586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater.

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage.

(*c*) *The wedding ceremonies*

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[8]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[8] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the